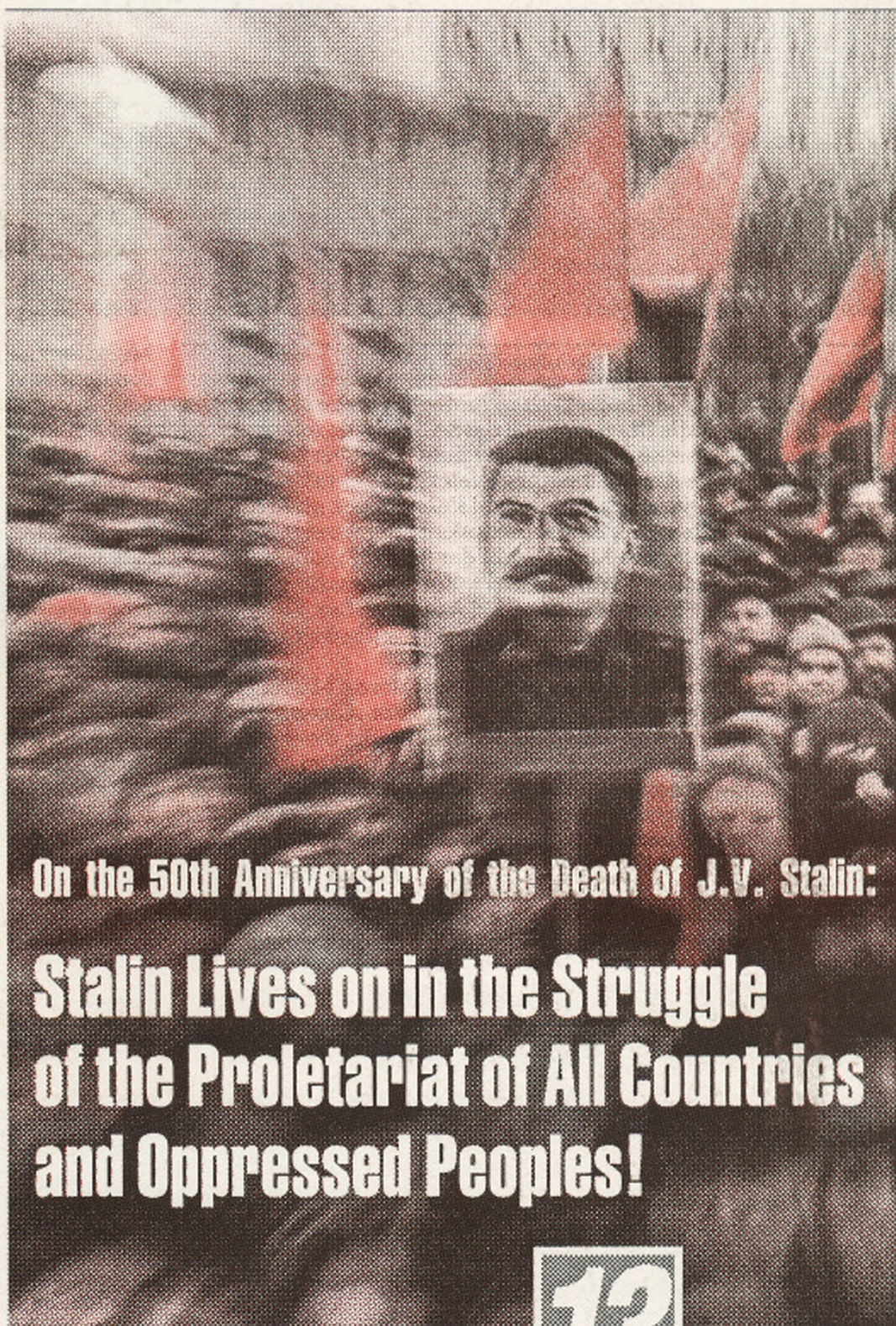


IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN



On the 50th Anniversary of the Death of J.V. Stalin:

**Stalin Lives on in the Struggle
of the Proletariat of All Countries
and Oppressed Peoples!**

- Bush & Schröder
= War Strategists
Let us put a stop
to their activities!
- For the Millennium
Beginning We Greet the
Proletarians and
Oppressed Peoples
of all Countries!
- Women 2000
European March...
- On the 6th International
Conference of
Marxist-Leninist Parties
and Organizations
- Consistent Anti-Fascism
Demands Consistent
Anti-Imperialist Fight!
- The "Anti-Fascism"
of the Ruling
Class is Hypocrisy!

JANUARY '04

13

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FOR THE MILLENNIUM BEGINNING WE GREET THE PROLETARIANS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES!

SOCIALISM OR DOWNFALL INTO BARBARISM – SUCH ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR OUR FUTURE!

A new millennium is beginning!

The imperialist bourgeoisie and their henchmen are calling on all their ideological powers of persuasion to get the toilers into the right mood for this event! Naturally in their interest! There are mystical doomsday scenarios as well as praises for capitalism, which allegedly won final victory over Communism! The conclusion drawn by the ruling classes is: global capitalism is the system of the future! All against all, and everyone for himself – that is the fitting philosophy of life! That thereby 4/5 of the world population vegetates at or under the threshold of the so-called existence minimum, that hundreds of millions are fleeing before misery, hunger, ethnic, religious, gender-specific persecutions and before reactionary wars, well, that is allegedly their “lot” in life! Yet the real perpetrators and culprits appear thereby even as peace-keepers, liberators, generous apostles of human rights and democracy. In the future they present us, the natural bases of life are also sacrificed at the altar of the interests of maximum prof-it. And this is the future they offer us!

Yet such an imperialist “future” is not inevitable. It has nothing to do with the future the proletariat and the working peoples need. Another future

worthy of mankind is possible, feasible and can be won:

A future, in which the exploitation of man by man is put an end, in which is produced and consumed based on the knowledge of Nature's laws and in accordance with Nature, in which a society is realized of the free association of free citizens with equal rights advancing from socialism onto communism, on the banner of which is inscribed: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs".

In the last, 20th Century, the oppressed have, for the first time, set an end over one sixth of the earth to exploitation lasting over thousands of years. After the successful construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union and after her great victory over fascism, China and many East European states also took the road to socialism. The system of exploitation and oppression the world over was shaken to its foundations. Although the international reaction, supported by the destructive activities of modern revisionism, finally managed to restore its global power after four decades, its cry of triumph is in vain.

The defeats suffered by the first wave of proletarian revolutions will be followed by victorious proletarian revolutions!

In view of the millennium change, we reiterate our determination to draw lessons from the experiences of the proletarian class struggles in the past century. Inspired and encouraged by the great victories and gains achieved already by the first surge of proletarian revolutions, we will also learn from the experiences of our setbacks and defeats to make them the basis of lasting victories. To defeat thousands of years old systems of exploitation and throw them into the garbage pile of history is a long and difficult process which inevitably also includes temporary defeats. But there is no other alternative to taking up this difficult task, should the mankind not sink into imperialist barbarism!

Socialism or downfall into barbarism – this is the question confronting the working masses of all countries today!

The Communist social order where everyone will be able to work according to his/her abilities and live according to his/her needs is not a utopia. This will be the realization of a historical necessity at last, the entry of mankind from "the realm of necessity" into "the realm of freedom", as Karl Marx expressed it. Millions upon millions of people have been fighting for this cause since centuries and sacrificed even their lives for it.

This fight will be carried on until the “realm of freedom” is reached. We declare war on misery, hunger, psychological and physical oppression of working masses, capitalist exploitation in all its forms, on the entire machinery of imperialist murder and exploitation with its perpetual crises and wars, with its ever growing parasitism, with its ever more barbarical aggressions, with its inextinguishable thirst for profit that does not hesitate to banish and destroy whole peoples in masses nor hesitates to poison and plunder the whole earth! The future belongs not to global capitalism, but to international socialism!

In this consciousness we salute all proletarians and the oppressed and the exploited, wherever they live, suffer and fight, in closest international solidarity and with Communist confidence!

Let us bundle our forces in the common struggle for the proletarian world revolution!

Let us spoil the soup of the ruling classes!

Let us smash their rotten “order”, presented to us as our sole possibility!

Get ready to create a brand new world on top of the ruins of the world of exploitation and tyranny!

To reach this “realm of freedom”, we need the revolution; democratic, antiimperialist, and as the highest form, socialist revolutions, we need the uninterrupted continuation of revolutionary reorganization til the realization of Communism.

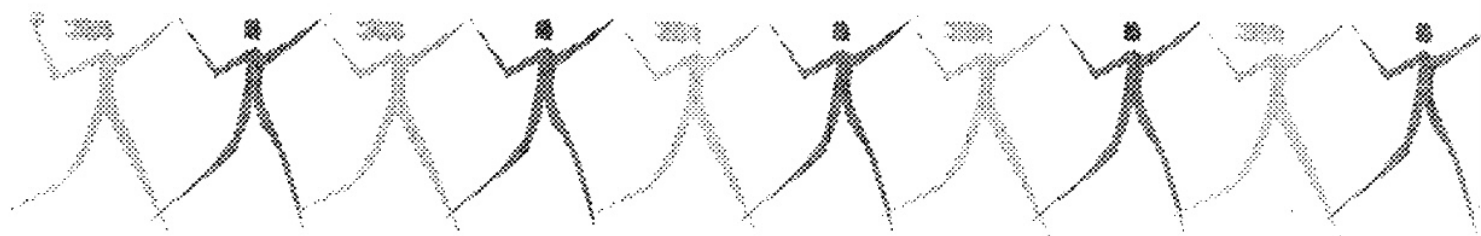
Only in this way can we prevent the mankind from sinking into imperialist barbarism!

Have the courage to fight!

Have the courage to win!

Let the 21st century and the new millennium be the century and millennium of the victory of socialism and Communism over imperialist barbarism!

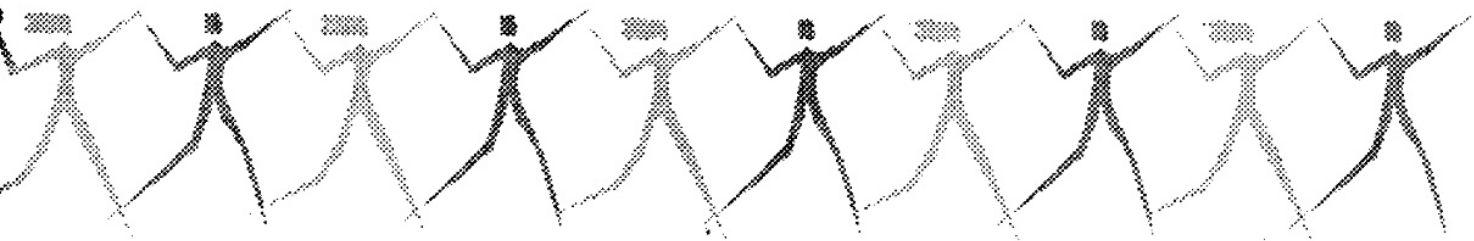
Bolshevik Initiative –Germany
Bolshevik Party/[North Kurdistan –Turkey]
Marxist-Leninist Initiative –Austria
Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria



**WOMEN 2000 EUROPEAN MARCH: WE HAVE NO TIME
TO SPEND ON FOOLING AROUND WITH A CATALOGUE
OF DEMANDS WHICH STAND ONLY ON PAPER!**

**LET US GET ORGANIZED
FOR A NEW WORLD WITHOUT
MALE DOMINATION,
WITHOUT RACISM AND
WITHOUT EXPLOITATION!**

Various women's organizations from 12 European countries have called up for a Europe wide women's march. It will be a part of the world march of women called up by the Federation of Women, Quebec/Canada. The authors of the appeal set up the goal of this march as strengthening the rights of women and emphasizing the demand for equality. The World Women's Conference in Peking in 1995, organized by the UNO, representing 182 states, had adopted a document, in which demands and goals were formulated for the equality of the sexes. Exactly five years after this conference, the Women's Summit 2000 of the UNO in New York in June this year has ascertained that the governments have done nothing to implement the Peking resolutions and has raised once more demands for the equality and protection of the rights of women. The World March of Women that will take place in five continents on 14 and 15 October pretends to set the governments under pressure, so that they implement the demands they sign in practice. The platform of the Women's March is a very comprehensive and detailed catalogue of demands, containing



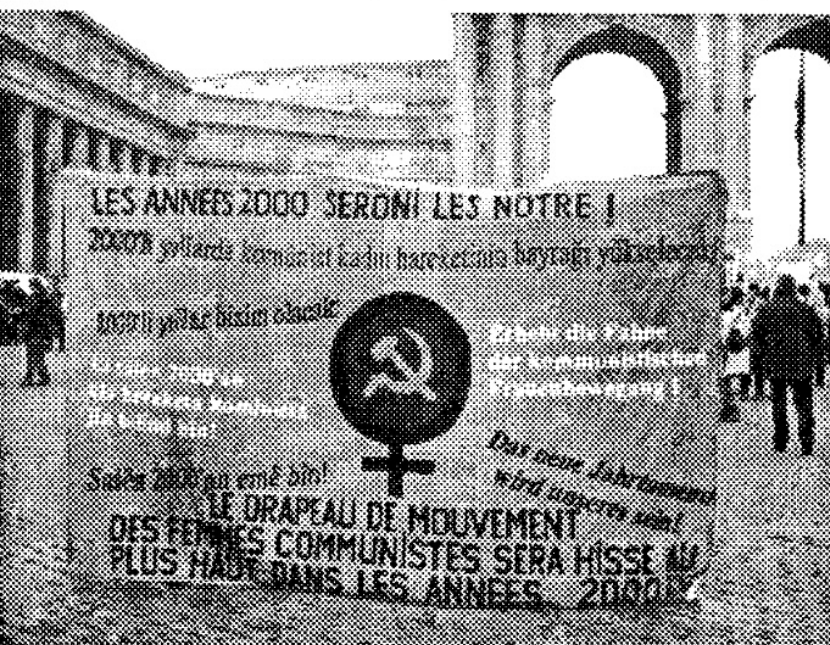
abolition of inequality before the law, improvement of the living and working conditions of women, end of the sexual violence against women and protection of the victims of violence. The organizers of the European march intend to submit this catalogue as a petition to the Parliament of the European Union.

We fight in our countries (in Germany and in Turkey/North Kurdistan) as oppressed women against oppression and exploitation. We experience in our day-to-day struggle, that dozens of organized women's conferences, dozens of letters of intent signed by the governments have no value. On the contrary, we experience that in the name of globalization imperialist capital becomes more aggressive every day, that our established rights get dismantled and our living and working conditions worsen.

We know that institutions like the UNO, the EU Parliament etc. represent the interests of the imperialists against the oppressed. That the demands of the women should be presented as a petition to the representatives of such institutions in the name of the world women's movement or the European women's movement, we find at best as an empty gesture.

That is not the only thing that disturbs us. At women's conferences organized by the UNO, lobbyism and the creation of women's networks are always praised as the way and method of women's movement.

According to this view, to enforce its demands, the women's movement should occupy positions in all state organs, in the governments and in the political parties and win over people to her side in these institutions who defend the women's rights, and create a network among these friends of women. What is being proposed here is a kind of march through the institutions and conquering



the system from inside. We reject this radically. This prescribed path serves only to women's movement being crushed in the cogs and wheels of the system. What lobbyism means in practice, one can see well from its present results. This brings outstanding personalities of the women's movement, women from the middle classes, to fighting for certain positions in the system and having a share of the cake themselves.

For those women in Germany, for example, who try to survive on social welfare, or women who work under extreme conditions and for lowest wages and as sole earners try to support themselves and their children, or for migrant toilers who stand at the lowest level of society, there remain not even crumbs. Women who have applied for asylum or live illegally in European countries, have neither the status nor the language proficiency to lobby.

For these reasons we reject this line in the women's movement. We think it is not accidental that ideas like women's solidarity get into oblivion, but ideas like lobbyism come into fashion. This proves only that women's movement has wholly cast off its radicality, and now advocates a system-inherent position.

We choose the way of the fight of the oppressed – relying on their own power – against the patriarchal system of oppression and exploitation. Not lobbying the states and governments, but international solidarity with all oppositional fights of the oppressed against the system – that is our way.

WE HAVE NO ENERGY TO WASTE OR TIME TO SPEND ON A CATALOGUE OF DEMANDS WHICH WILL GO UNDER ANYHOW IN THE CORRIDORS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION OR OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

THE AUTHORS OF THE PLATFORM OF THE EUROPEAN MARCH CANNOT SEPARATE THEMSELVES FROM A EUROCENTRIST VIEW, EITHER.

They do not even realize that in their immediate neighborhood, in countries like Turkey or Rumania, a democratic fight on state and government plane is quite impossible right from the outset. That in these and similar countries not even a democracy of the West European type exists. Those who close their eyes to the fact that in countries like North Kurdistan/Turkey people who fight for human rights and women's rights are suppressed with wild state terror, that rank-and-file trade

unionists, journalists, authors, supporters of oppositional organizations disappear behind bars, propose to the women in these countries that they should work more to make themselves better heard by their governments. The so-called NGOs which heed these suggestions, are making preparations to present such demand catalogs to their governments. And what happens when the governments get them? Paper is patient. Such demand catalogs are preserved well in the drawers and gotten out at best for certain ceremonies like March the 8th and for smooth

talk. After that business as usual: Deterioration of living and working conditions of women, the fall of ever more women into unemployment, hunger and misery. Shortly, wild attacks of the exploiter system.

For all these reasons we refuse to append us to the forces which want to grab themselves a place in this system at the expense of the oppressed women. They exploit the fight for the equality of women for their own interests. Such a women's movement does not represent our interests, it does not represent the interests of the oppressed women.

We are fighting for a new world without male domination, without racism and without exploitation.

We want to join together with all the oppressed who wage the fight for the liberation of women as their own fight, and put up resistance against the ruling wind of reaction in internationalist solidarity. We do not want crumbs of rights, we want to change the world. We want a new world without exploitation, we want to fight for a socialist world – we will win it together!

September 2000

Bolshevik Partisan

(Newspaper for building the Bolshevik Party–North Kurdistan/Turkey)

and

Inspite of all

(Newspaper for building the Bolshevik Party Germany)

On the 6th International Marxist-Leninist Parties

In Bolshevik Partisan No. 132 and 133 of November 2000 and January 2001 respectively, two articles were published "On the 6th International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations" (ICMLPO) with an introductory section, summing up the correspondence between us and the Joint Coordinating Group of the ICMLPO and the developments since the 5th Conference of ICMLPO, as well as a section giving full coverage to all four resolutions of the Conference, including our assessments and our criticisms on them. Here we reproduce only our assessments and criticisms, since these resolutions are freely available.

On "Resolution No. 1: On the Development of the World Economy"

The first question to ask in relation to this resolution is: What do we want to do in this resolution "On the Development of the World Economy"? Do we want to analyze the presumed "economic crisis" and establish the tasks of the Marxist-Leninists that are to be derived from such an analysis? We think and assume that this was the object of the exercise. When this is the object of the exercise, then it is obvious that this resolution falls far short of this objective, it does not go beyond the point of making general statements that are far from being a concrete analysis of the concrete situation with respect to the crisis and our tasks. In our opinion, this could not have been otherwise. Because a concrete analysis of the concrete situation, an integral study and assessment of

Conference of and Organizations

concrete data pertaining to the concrete situation and drawing common conclusions from them is not an affair that can be accomplished in a biennial conference of ML groups and parties among whom it is not certain whether unity exists on the question of the Marxist crisis theory. In our opinion, the conference would have done much better had it spent the time and energy it used on this resolution for a discussion on reaching a unanimous view about the Marxist crisis theory, for example.

*

Besides this objection of a more general nature to this resolution, we also have problems with some of the views expressed in the resolution, problems which we need to discuss with its signatories.

Here is what we think on the crisis:

The capitalist system as a whole finds itself in a crisis in its imperialist stage. The following should be understood from this: The imperialist system has developed the internal contradictions of capitalism to the extreme limit beyond which revolution begins. In its imperialist stage, capitalism moves along not an ascendant line, but a descendant line. Contrary to the period in which capitalism arose and developed, the capitalist relations of production are not in harmony with the development of productive forces any more, on the contrary, they have reached a point where they constrain the latter's possibilities of development, prevent and shackle their development. Imperialist system is decaying, parasitic, moribund capitalism. Imperialism is that stage in which the capitalist system finds itself in "general crisis".

This state of general crisis will prevail as long as imperialism rules. Besides this, there are also periodical crises of capitalism that are specific to capitalist economy. These economic crises are in reality crises

of “overproduction”. Under capitalism, an economic system based on maximum profit and where the market is decisive, capital always flows into the fields that are the most profitable at the moment. This gives rise to the existence of an overproduction in these fields after a while. The goods produced and brought to the market find no buyers. They pile up. Bankruptcies etc. follow. A crisis arises. In the course of time, by way of capital flowing into new fields, new production techniques being introduced etc., one cyclical crisis is overcome. A new cycle begins. Cyclical crises are, in one respect, means of capitalism renewing itself. At the cost of throwing some capitalists out of business and increasing the want and plight of the toiling masses, cyclical crises are, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie and capitalism as a whole, essential companions of the system serving its renewal.

The consequences of these crises are, however, merciless for the toiling masses. Their mercilessness increases parallel to the depth of the crisis. The periods of stagnation, of hitting the bottom of economic development in cyclical crises, are periods in which unemployment, hunger and poverty increase to the utmost. These periods are, objectively, periods in which the working class and toiling masses can see much more clearly what capitalism means for them; periods in which it is much easier for them to grasp on the basis of their own first-hand experience the fact that capitalist system is their real enemy. At the same time, the periods of economic crises are periods in which the fight to share out the shrinking income from exploitation among the ruling classes reaches its climax. For this reason, cyclical economic crises of capitalism also create an atmosphere that is favorable for giving rise to a situation where it has become very difficult both for “the ruling classes to continue their rule in the old-fashioned way” as well as the ruled say “That’s enough”, to a political crisis, and, yes, to a revolutionary situation.

But here, an automatization similar to the following should not and cannot be made: Cyclical economic crisis = political crisis = revolutionary situation... There is no such rule as every cyclical economic crisis giving rise, without fail, to a political crisis. Similarly, there is no such rule as every economic and political crisis giving rise to a revolutionary situation.

In history, there have been situations in which deep cyclical crises of capitalism coincided with such factors as a state of war, where the matters came to a revolution; both the Great October Socialist Revolution as well as the post World War II revolutions happened in this way.

To put it shortly, the general crisis of capitalism and cyclical crises are not one and the same thing. While the former is a phenomenon of the entire epoch of imperialism, the latter is a phenomenon that arises periodically, “cyclically”. Naturally, cyclical crises may, in that they make the conditions of revolution more mature, play the role of deepening the general crisis of imperialism as well.

Cyclical crises are shaped by the characteristic features of capitalism in each country, they do not arise and develop in the same way and to the same extent in the entire imperialist world at once. But a cyclical crisis in one country –and especially when this crisis arises in imperialist metropolises– finds its echoes in other countries, shows its effects in other countries as well.

From the point of view of capitalism, cyclical crises are, in principle, crises that can be overcome; and the imperialist bourgeoisie has a pretty large experience in managing, coping with and overcoming crises.

The general crisis of capitalism, however, can be overcome and will certainly be overcome only by the proletarian world revolution, by wiping imperialism from the face of the earth. On the other hand, the fact that capitalism finds itself in “general crisis” does not mean that it will perish of itself, fall and collapse of itself. Capitalism can be smashed only with the active intervention of the class of proletarians who are the gravediggers of capitalism, by revolutions led by the proletariat.

Another thing one should know in connection with the cyclical crisis is the fact that economic crisis arises in one sphere at first, but affects and engulfs all other sectors of the economy in due course. In the course of normal development, starting point of the economic crisis is “overproduction” in the industrial sector, and this finds its reflection in other sectors as well. But this does not mean that each and every individual cyclical crisis will unconditionally arise in the industrial sector and be the result of an industrial “overproduction”. Sometimes, a lim-

ited supply on the market of a commodity that is of decisive importance for industrial production, all of a sudden a multifold rise in its price etc., or a big depreciation in a short while in the value of the great quantity of speculative capital circulating on the market because of political or socio-psychological reasons, a stockmarket crisis or a financial crisis may be the starting points of cyclical crises or factors deepening them. For example, the “oil crisis” of 1974 was one of the most important factors that triggered off the deepest cyclical crisis experienced in the post-World War II period in the imperialist world. For example the crisis in Southeast Asia in 1997 was primarily a stockmarket and financial crisis.

When we come now to the text of the resolution:

The starting point of the 1997 crisis in Southeast Asia was a “financial and stockmarket crisis”, and primarily speculative capital lost value.

It is a fact of the present-day world that in 1999 only 15% of the worldwide circulating capital was used for paying a commercial debt or invested for creating value. 85% of the circulating capital was used for interest payments and speculation. (See Jan Ziegler, “Wie kommt der Hunger in die Welt?”) Such an economy is always open to a “financial and stockmarket crisis”. And with such an economic structure, even crises are possible that are experienced as only financial and stockmarket crises that do not get reflected in the real foundation of the economy, in industry and agriculture. This structure is always open to stockmarket “crashes”.

The existence of such a great amount of capital in the field of speculation is a result of the overaccumulation of capital amassed in the field of industry, agriculture and commerce. This overaccumulated capital sought fields yielding the biggest profit in the shortest time, and found this in the field of speculation, in the stockmarket. But the fact that the source of speculative capital also is the industry, agriculture and commerce does not at all mean that a financial crisis, a stockmarket crisis “independent” of the productive sector is not possible. The financial/stockmarket crisis in Southeast Asia in 1997 led to a certain extent to stockmarket fluctuations, to loss of “value” in speculative capital in other countries as well, but had no effect of any importance in the field of production, especially from the standpoint of imperialist metropolises.

Neither in 1999, as the Conference was held, nor today can one speak of a “world crisis” when we take the imperialist metropolises and the capitalist world as a whole. For example, the U.S. economy, the economies of the imperialist powers in the European Union, headed by Germany, are not on the decline, quite the contrary, they are on the incline. In such a situation, it is not right to state that we find ourselves in a cyclical economic crisis, that “the crisis is deepening” etc., this is not a correct interpretation of the truth.

The resolution states the existence of a “world economic crisis” deepening “the general crisis of capitalism”. This statement, in the sense of a cyclical economic crisis, is not true. To say that there is no crisis today does not at all have to entail upholding the ideology of “industrialization, prosperity and peaceful development” for all countries. In order to expose and combat the bourgeois ideology of “globalization”, it is wrong –although the intention is good– to present a non-existent crisis as existing. Whether it finds itself in a cyclical crisis or not, in none of its periods has imperialism brought, nor does it bring, “industrialization, prosperity and peaceful development to all countries”. This goes against the nature of imperialism. This is not a fact that depends on the existence or non-existence of a crisis. Even in the richest countries with most developed welfare, irrespective of any crisis, capitalism means poverty for a very important section of the society! Irrespective of any crisis, internationally it means being divided into a handful of oppressing and exploiting imperialist powers and oppressed and exploited countries! The existence of a crisis only further aggravates the situation of the poor, the exploited, of the toilers, but does not change it essentially.

The statement that “*only the imperialist countries and a few dependent countries are included within this internationalization*” is false. Imperialism has turned every corner of the world into a part of the imperialist economy. In this sense, there is no area that is not drawn into internationalization.

Taking the world in general, “deindustrialization” is not a correct statement. There are changes in the structure and organization of the industry, there are changes in the settlement areas of industrial capital etc. But this does not mean the elimination of industry. To speak of dein-

dustrialization in terms of the world in general is in reality tantamount to saying “capitalism is not developing” and false.

To say “*currently, we are witnessing a growing revolutionary resurgence and a strengthening of Communist parties which have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism*” is a subjective statement substituting wishful thinking for the real situation.

In actual fact, the existing mass movements with a relatively low level are, speaking generally, not revolutionary but reformist-based movements. To speak of a worldwide “growing revolutionary resurgence” is not a statement of the truth.

And to note a strengthening of Communist parties which have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism is, comparing the real strength of the great majority of these parties (the CPP is the only exception that we know of!) with the tasks they set themselves, a statement that does not reflect the facts and the tasks to be drawn from them!

The result is a resolution that does not impart a correct consciousness to the proletariat and toiling masses on the “development of the world economy” and the tasks derived from it.

It contains many true things. It tries to give morale to the proletariat and communists; it emphasizes the general truth of imperialism being overthrown by revolution in the end; exposes various lies of the bourgeoisie; but there isn’t anything much in the way of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the concrete situation, in the way of giving correct guidance on this basis; there are important errors in several places.

These parties and organizations claiming to give guidance to the proletariat also say the following in a resolution of their international Conference:

“The consequences of the ongoing economic crisis on the world situation will be far-reaching. These will not develop in a straight line. The reactions to the crisis will be not only economic but principally political. Neither the USA nor Europe, Japan, Russia and China will come out of the crisis in the same shape as when they entered it. It is impossible to foresee the changes that will take place.”

Now, let us assume that the statement of “economic crisis” is true. In this case, are these the things the Marxist-Leninists should say? Is this giving Marxist-Leninist guidance? Yes, no country “will come out of

the crisis in the same shape as when they entered it..." But don't ask what changes will take place! Because it is "impossible to foresee them!" What is this but empty words?

In our opinion, the Conference should not have adopted this resolution in its present form.

On "Resolution No. 2: On the Political Changes Within the Imperialist World System"

Here is what we think about this resolution:

In §1, the era we are living in is stated correctly as "the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution", and the fundamental contradictions of capitalism are enumerated.

Whilst speaking of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, it is, in our opinion, a correct interpretation and a correct approach not to enumerate the contradiction between "imperialism and socialism" as a special contradiction and to fill the content of this contradiction with socialist states and powers on the part of socialism.

In our view, when speaking of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism –especially in such a programmatic document–, unconditionally a distinction should be made between the contradictions between the revolution and the counter-revolution and the contradictions within the counter-revolution itself. While the former are contradictions leading to revolution, the latter are contradictions which the working class and toilers can take advantage of on the way to revolution. When we speak in concrete terms, then "the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the capitalist countries" is a contradiction that will be solved by the socialist revolution; the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples and nations is a contradiction that will be solved by anti-imperialist, democratic revolutions. In both of these contradictions, on the one side stand the forces of revolution, on the other side stand the forces of counter-revolution. "The contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopolist capitalist groups" is a contradiction within the counter-revolution itself. The sharpening and resolution of these contradictions do not lead to

revolution, revolutionary forces can only take advantage of these contradictions for revolution when they are organized and strong enough. Not to make this distinction, and enumerate all these contradictions as if they were of the same nature is in our opinion wrong.

In §2 an international main contradiction is fixed. Since world revolution develops and will develop as a sum total of revolutions in individual countries, we find it theoretically wrong to fix an international main contradiction. In practice, fixing such a main contradiction may lead to seeing and presenting the main task of the revolutionary front outside the boundaries of this main contradiction as throwing oneself into solving this “main contradiction”. As a matter of fact, in the past, there have been people who saw and tried to implement the main task of revolutionaries in imperialist countries as supporting the momentarily furthestmost developed revolution in the dependent countries.

We have no objection to making a concrete statement that the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples, taking the world generally, looks sharper than the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries. Such a statement is a true expression of the real situation. But from this to arrive at a “main contradiction in the international plane” is in our view wrong.

In §3, one of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism expressed correctly in §1, i.e., “the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class”, is transformed into “the contradiction between the working class and the monopolies”. In our opinion, this is wrong. The target and the enemy in the imperialist-capitalist countries are not only the monopolies, but capitalism as a whole.

In §4, the statement that the USA are “the most important economic, political and military power in the imperialist camp” is a correct expression of the concrete situation. It is a positive point that this has been done without making such statements as “the USA are the main enemy” etc. For we have experienced in the past what sort of policies were derived from fixing such a main enemy in the international plane. §5 is selfcontradictory. While on the one hand it is saying that the New World Order is an American dream, on the other hand the USA are presented as deciding everything.

It is not right to present the USA as deciding everything.

In §6, “multipolarity” is being presented as if it were something new. Imperialism has always been, among other things, a contention for world hegemony among the imperialist great powers, in no period has there ever been a situation –in this sense, a monopolarity– of one imperialist power deciding everything alone. Under the conditions of the existence of the Socialist camp as well as of the social-imperialist camp, from the viewpoint of imperialism, there have always been contending imperialist great powers, rival imperialist centers with their own inter-imperialist contradictions as well. In this inter-imperialist rivalry, especially the EU led by Germany has undoubtedly shown a significant development. This does not mean, however, that the world took the road of “multipolarity” after 1990, that this multipolarity did not exist beforehand, etc.

In §7, while defining the situation of Japanese imperialism, its situation is painted in a worse light than it is actually in. The stagnation of Japanese imperialism is a “stagnation” in the form of a slow down in economic growth that was much faster in comparison with other imperialist great powers in the seventies and eighties. Japanese imperialism, just like German imperialism, is in the position of an imperialist great power that has developed and regained strength after the Second World War from which it emerged besieged, and reached the level of challenging the USA in various spheres for world hegemony today.

§8 In connection with Russia, too, the statement that “this prevents it from playing a decisive role in the international developments” is a statement that belittles its concrete material might. Undoubtedly, compared with the times when it was the leading power of the social-imperialist camp, Russia’s decisive role in the international developments has greatly diminished. But when the comparison is made not in this fashion, but with the great imperialist powers other than the USA, then one cannot but register that this decisiveness of Russia is not less than that of, say, an England, France, yes, Japan, or even Germany. Here, the military power of Russia undoubtedly plays a decisive role.

In the same paragraph, the statement that “China has the potential, due to its former socialist accumulation, to be a serious competitor of the US in the near future” is in our opinion wrong. Its former social-

ist accumulation was not an accumulation for the purpose of imperialist contention for hegemony. And, indeed, the greatest triumph of China in the socialist period was not that it made a large accumulation, but managed to destroy the semi-feudal structure, and overcome hunger, illiteracy and epidemics in the poorest and most populous country of the world. After the "capitalist roaders" grasped power entirely in China, after China changed its color, China began to develop its "own" capitalism as a part of the imperialist world. China's rate of development is undoubtedly high in comparison with the imperialist great powers, and China has very important underground resources, a very large population and a vast territory. Therefore it has a great potential to develop. However, when we take into consideration its point of departure, China being or becoming a serious competitor of the US will always remain a "potentiality" so long as no changes of paramount importance take place, for example, a world war substantially weakening the economic might of the US, and China being among the victors.

In §9, it would have been right to underscore that imperialism cannot do without wars, that what it calls peace is non-existence of a world war; and to discuss and expose the meaning of present efforts for an "imperialist peace".

In §10, to state that the "mass movements in different imperialist countries aim at the development towards the workers' offensive" is an exaggeration. Here concrete situation is presented in such a manner as if "a large mass movement" is developing in imperialist countries. This is substituting one's wishes for reality.

What ought to have been done was to state that the spontaneous movement of the masses is running at a very low level; and reformism is prevalent among the present movements in general. Furthermore, it ought to have been stated that this situation will not go on for ever, that a new revolutionary upsurge arising out of the existing objective contradictions will certainly be experienced again, that the task is to prepare ourselves for this occasion. Socialist agitation and propaganda is a continuous and systematic task not only in periods of rising mass movement, but even in periods when it is at its lowest level. This should have been stated.

On "Resolution No. 3: On the Strategy and Tactics of the Marxist-Leninists in the Struggle for National Liberation, the New Democratic Revolution and the Struggle for Socialism"

This resolution is correct in general. In this resolution, it is correctly stated that

- we are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution
- revolution is a matter of revolutionary force
- each party, on its own responsibility, must formulate its strategy and tactics in its country
- in the imperialist countries, the strategic objective is the dictatorship of the proletariat
- in the dependent countries, the strategic objective is the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution with a socialist perspective.

Moreover, on the path of the revolution, it is stated that the pursuit of the military strategy of people's war is not a necessity in all dependent countries.

Against the mistake of fixing a worldwide main contradiction/main enemy and presenting the strategic interaction on a world scale as a one-sided dependence, it is also important to note, as the resolution does, that "the struggles in the different countries stand in dialectical interaction".

All of these points make up the essence of this resolution.

Besides these, there are also points which we find not right and problematical:

In §1, paragraph 2, where the concrete situation is ascertained, the present level of the class struggle is in our opinion presented in an exaggerated manner, misrepresenting the situation as if the revolutionary forces were on the offensive, as if the revolutionary tide was rising. We do not know which imperialist countries are meant by "individual imperialist countries" in which "there is an upswing of an awakening class consciousness of the working-class movement". For the imperialist countries which we know of, however, this statement is an exaggeration. It is also false to generalize for the totality of "the (oppressed)

countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America”, that “there is an important upsurge of mass struggles and revolutionary movements, in the struggle for national and social liberation”. In the majority of the countries in these continents, there is no such “upsurge”. Instead of this generalization, it would have been right to name the countries the resolution has in mind. Then it would also be possible to speak in more concrete terms.

In the same section, it is quite right to ascertain that Marxist-Leninists in each country must formulate their strategy and tactics on their own responsibility. However, this statement should have been augmented by declaring that Marxist-Leninists of each country have also things to say about the revolution in other countries, that general principles of Marxism-Leninism should be the starting point for every country, that, on this basis, Marxist-Leninists have the duty to control and help one another mutually. When this statement is left on its own, it may then lead to a situation where statements made by a Marxist-Leninist party or organization of any one country become incontestable tabus for Marxist-Leninists of other countries.

In §2, it is not wrong on its own to put the strategic objective as “to overthrow imperialism, the rule of monopoly capital”. Nevertheless, knowing the existence of the revisionist strategy of uniting all the forces other than the monopoly bourgeoisie in these countries in an “anti-monopolist revolution”, one must ask himself the question of why the need was felt to stress “the rule of monopoly capital” after saying “imperialism”. As is known, imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism, monopoly capitalism. To say “the rule of monopoly capital” after saying “imperialism” is in one sense saying the same thing twice. We are not in a position to say whether a discussion took place on this formulation, or as an expression of which understanding this formulation got in here. Nevertheless, speaking for the imperialist countries, we find it important to reject revisionist theories which present the objective of the socialist revolution not as capitalism as a whole, but put “monopoly capitalism” on the agenda, yes, put an “anti-monopoly, democratic revolution” on the agenda before the socialist revolution, the path of which they see as winning the majority in parliamentary elections.

Again in this section, on the topic of “the struggle of the masses for

economic and political reforms”, we think that the main line of demarcation lies not so much therein, whether these struggles are led “militantly”, but therein, whether these struggles are waged in a reformist or a revolutionary manner. Speaking concretely for the great majority of present struggles, we assert that they are led by reformists and waged in a reformist manner. This undoubtedly does not imply that we should remain indifferent to these struggles. As far as our forces allow, we take part in the forefront of the struggles for those reforms which we find right, which we think are in line with the interests of the working class and toiling masses, which will improve their living and working conditions, and fight to obtain concrete reform demands. Our main objective in these struggles is to raise the level of consciousness and organization of workers and toilers. For this reason, through appropriate ways and means, we carry into every struggle for reforms the idea that, even when the reforms for which we are fighting are obtained, the main problem is and remains the order based on the “exploitation of wage labor”, that this order will continue to exist, and the main task is to overthrow this order. We think the revolutionary manner of waging the struggle for reforms would look like that.

In §3, constantly, mention is made of “dependent, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries”. We find such a generalization wrong – in the past, during the TKP/ML period, we shared this generalization as well. In our opinion, speaking of the division of the world, it is right and sufficient to make the generalization of “imperialist oppressor countries and dependent, oppressed countries”. Above and beyond that, for each country we must speak in concrete terms. There are great differences among the countries in the category of dependent, oppressed countries. Some of them are still at the stage of building nations, the development of dependent capitalism is very limited; in others, the development of dependent capitalism brought with itself the dissolution of feudal and semi-feudal structure to a considerable degree; while in some of them the rural population still makes up 70 to 80 per cent of the population, in others town population surpassed the rural population etc. It is wrong to make the generalization of “dependent, semi-colonial and semi-feudal” for all these countries.

For example, defining North Kurdistan-Turkey as “semi-feudal” and

stating that “agrarian revolution” will play a decisive role there is an assertion that does not grasp the present reality of North Kurdistan-Turkey. Yes, North Kurdistan-Turkey is a dependent, but not a semi-feudal country. Although feudal institutions, traditions and ideas still continue to live especially in the superstructure, the semi-feudal structure, feudalism and feudal remnants in the infrastructure are liquidated to a considerable extent. That the stage of revolution is anti-imperialist/democratic revolution, has to do with the fact that the working class and toiling masses have in no period ever enjoyed democracy even in the bourgeois sense of this word and, therefore, with the backwardness of their democratic consciousness.

On “Resolution No. 4: On the Perspective of the Sixth International Conference”

Our concerns and problems with this resolution signed by all participants are as follows:

In §1, mention is made of eight organizations that “participated in the preparations but were prevented from taking part”. We find it not right not to make public who these organizations are and how they were prevented from taking part. Undoubtedly, some organization or other may have problems from the point of view of illegality, it may be understandable why they are not named, but we do not think all eight organizations are in this same situation.

On the other hand, in this section giving information about the Conference, information must absolutely also have been given about organizations, when such organizations exist, that applied for participation, but were denied admission – and we know they exist in our own concrete case. Failing to do so means misinforming the revolutionary public and maybe even the Conference itself.

In §2, praising the work of the JCG, it is said that it “prepared the Conference very well”. Setting out from the stand the JCG took against us during the preparation of the Conference, we are in a position to say that the statement: “the JCG prepared the Conference very well” is an exaggeration and wrong. The duty of the JCG was, in line with the

appeal of the 5th Conference, to try to get “other ML forces” to join the 6th Conference. In our concrete case, instead of trying to get us to join the Conference, the JCG prevented us from participating!

Surely enough, this is a problem not only between the JCG and us, but also between the 6th Conference that assesses the JCG’s work as “very successful” and endorses its report on its activities and us.

We find it positive to form an international anti-imperialist league of struggle. Such a league may play a positive role in the coordination of anti-imperialist activities internationally. One should, however, refrain from falling into the trap of expecting too much from such a league at the moment.

With respect to the principles enumerated in §4 of the resolution, we already pointed to the contradiction between the first two principles at a certain point.

On the basis of the “principles” of

- a) adherence to Marxism-Leninism
- b) struggle against modern revisionism, and a positive attitude towards Stalin and Mao Zedong
- c) acceptance of the rules of the Conference

we find it right to hold a 7th International Conference, and are ready to participate in the preparation and realization of such a Conference.

Spreading the resolutions of the 6th Conference and our views on them in our field of work means for us at the same time preparation of the 7th Conference.

We hope, the JCG appointed by the 6th Conference does not repeat the wrong attitude displayed by its predecessor against us.

25 October 2000

*(From: “Bolshevik Partisan”,
Nos. 132 & 133, November 2000
and January 2001)*



Consistent Anti-Fascism Demands Consistent Anti-Imperialist Fight!

Fifty-five years ago the Nazi dictatorship was militarily knocked down by the anti-Fascist coalition under the leadership of the Red Army of Stalin. The name Mauthausen since then is always linked up inseparably with memories of the heinous crimes of Nazi fascism. It will always be a reminder for us and an obligation to uncompromising fight against fascization in all its forms.

In Austria and Europe a new fascization is taking place today, which means the renewed intensification of the attacks of the bourgeoisie on the proletariat in the metropolises and the strengthened neo-colonialization and exploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Therefore it appears us necessary to consider the situation in EU-Austria more closely:

With the participation of the fascist FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria) in government made possible by the ÖVP (Austrian People's Party), the process which had been prepared since decades by the SPÖ (Social-Democratic Party of Austria) and ÖVP was continued in Austria consistently. The massive attacks on the working class, external militarization and internal extension of the repression apparatus are clear indicators of the new political strategy of the bourgeoisie, who strongly keep themselves the option of fascism open again. Although the ruling classes still preserve a semblance of bourgeois democracy today, they can transform the permanently available fascist tendencies any time into open fascism. Parliamentary democracy and fascism are namely only two different faces of capitalism, of course not thoroughly equivalent, but two sides of the same medallion nevertheless!

That the new fascization does not depend exclusively on the government participation of the FPÖ, the past decades have proven clearly. Co-responsible for the present situation was the degeneration of the unions to compliant "labor" organisations of the bourgeoisie, in which the union bosses, party functionaries and labor aristocrats have the saying. This led to the ideological disarming of the working class as well as the immobilization of the toilers through "social partnership". On top of that, add the denazification that has never really taken place. The case of the national-"socialist" euthanasia doctor, Heinrich Gross, who has the torture and assassination of countless children on his conscience, stands symptomatically for the integration of former Nazis in bourgeois parties and the parliamentary-democratic system. Under the patronage of the SPÖ Gross was able to work right up to the end undisturbed and is definitively responsible for building the Criminal Psychiatry of the 2nd Republic. Only now, after Gross has reached a high and happy age, does the justice pretend to call him



to account, certainly not without pointing to his alleged inability to stand a trial. This approach presents a further blow in the face of all victims of the Nazi dictatorship! Since the government was set up, the SPÖ has been increasingly trying to put on an anti-Fascist cover again. Neither are the ÖVP weary of mendaciously declaring that they are naturally against fascism. The appointment of the government commissioner Schaumayer for the compensation of the survivors of forced labor does not reflect a late confession of guilt on the part of the government, but rather the attempt to bring the problem to a simple and above all cheap solution: The companies which drew the biggest profit from forced labor, pay no penny.

When we, on the occasion of the international commemoration, renew our conviction today in Mauthausen: fascism never again!, this means for us, that we will confront the new fascization with consistent, anti-imperialist and revolutionary fight. Thereby we differ fundamentally from all parties represented in the Austrian Parliament and from the so-called "Communist" Party of Austria ("K" PÖ) which stand firmly on the floor of imperialism. We know that, if we want to get rid of the fascist danger finally, we must get rid of the ruling imperialist order of exploitation. For consistent anti-fascism demands consistent anti-imperialist, revolutionary fight!

Long live the Red Army under the leadership of Stalin, which defeated Nazi fascism jointly with the oppressed peoples!

No forgetting! No forgiving! Fascism never again!

Behind fascism stands capital, fight it international!

Down with the imperialist order of exploitation!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

April 2000

- **Bolshevik Partisan (Austria)**
- **Communist Action Vienna**
- **Marxist/Leninist Initiative Vienna**
- **Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria**

The “Anti-Fascism” of the Ruling Class is Hypocrisy!

On May 6th we celebrate for the 56th time the liberation of the prisoners of the fascist Mauthausen concentration camp. These camps are eternal memorials and reminders of the barbarian German or Austrian reaction, resp. but also a basis for our politisation and our consistent anti-fascism. Also this year survivors of the fascist terror, their descendants as well as anti-fascists from all over the world will honour the victims and demonstrate unity against nationalist chauvinism and reaction.

After the German fascism was smashed into pieces violently the economic and political mastery of the Nazi elites and their underlings lasted on unhindered to a large extent. The continuity of fascism and bourgeois parliamentarism can be seen in Austria of today e.g. in the currently ruling parties. People Party (ÖVP) at present holding the ministry of interior originate from the clerical Austro-fascism who came to power in a bloody coup-d’etat in 1934. People Party still treasure the memorial of Dollfuss, the murderer of workers.

Freedom Party (FPÖ) the other party in government openly show their roots in the German fascism and already before, under the name of Union of Independents (VdU), they were the reservoir of die-hard nazis and SS killers. Today two main tendencies within Freedom Party can be distinguished, of which the openly fascist wing around Haider

excellently complements to the fanatics of deregulation around Prinzhorn and vice versa. Freedom Party is without doubt at present the most aggressive and most racist big party but recent years have shown that in many fields, such as migration and repression, the “ideas” of the FPÖ have eagerly been taken up by the other bourgeois parties. (*The sympathizers of Bolshevik Partzan in Austria assess Freedom Party as a fascist party*).

On account of their roots in fascism it can only appear as deepest cynicism that the members of government come to an anti-fascist memorial meeting like the liberation ceremony at the Mauthausen concentration camp!

Despite the present coalition government the danger of a fascist takeover in Austria is however no acute problem today. Fascism as a ruling system does not depend on a person or party - as the theorists of totalitarianism want us to believe - but on the interests of finance capital. Open fascism is applied when, because of the growing influence of revolutionary workers' movement and the general crisis of capitalism, “the bourgeoisie are unable to rule with the old methods of parliamentarism and are forced to seize terrorist methods of government in home politics.” (J.W. Stalin, Works in German, vol 13, pp.261-262, *our translation*). In such a situation both FPÖ and ÖVP would have the potentiality to take the political leadership in an openly terrorist dictatorship as well as there is e.g. the possibility of a fascist union organised EU-wide. As consistent anti-fascists we oppose the mythicism of a fascism in the sense of the theory of totalitarianism as well as the pervert attempt of the grand-children of Third Reich to give reason to their raids e.g. in Yugoslavia by mentioning Auschwitz.

The inner tendency of imperialism to fascisation is today more acute than ever. Just like the preceding coalition government of Social-democrats with People's Party, the present blue-brown-black government is the executing agency of Austrian imperialism in the EU as well as the executive power of strategies of the “unified” European (German, French, Austrian etc.) imperialism. Strengthening the repressive state apparatus and deliberate terror against certain groups of people or political and social opposition, restrictive laws, enlargement of the sur-

veillance apparatus by means of bugging attacks, screening investigation, centralized data compilation and extensive empowerment of police and spies, reduction of democratic rights and civil liberties are in close connection with the capitalist offensive against the social and legal achievements of the working-class movement.

In this way the opposition growing because of aggravating exploitation shall be confronted as a sort of precaution as it were. This growing repression is often given reason with gross racist instigation against “illegal” immigrants or “organised” crime (of course in the hand of so-called foreigners). The new government have substantially accelerated the process of aggravating exploitation and repression, the preparatory work was however fulfilled by several Social-democratic ministers of finance and home affairs. In Austria the rule of the bourgeoisie is so consolidated and the working-class movement so much weakened for decades by the appeasement policies of the Social-democratic bigwigs and traitors of the workers that the bourgeois reaction can carry out their offensive nearly without any resistance, even with a big part of the people facing it kindly.

Here we must interfere using our anti-fascist and anti-racist concepts. And we must decisively oppose the bourgeoisie trying to divide us into natives and foreigners, men and women, employed and unemployed. It is necessary to see capitalism as the cause of world-wide injustice, to organise and fight the evil at its roots even today. Because consistent anti-fascism requires consistent anti-capitalism. Only under these conditions we will succeed in future in opposing victoriously all possible attempts of the bourgeoisie to establish an openly fascist dictatorship and succeed in banishing the fascists where they belong to, the dust-heap of history.

Resist from the beginning!

Death to Fascism, death to state terrorism!

Fight the system, despite of all!

2001

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